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# ADDRESSES

DELIVERED AT THE  
FIRST STATED MEETING

OF THE

## LEBANON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HELD IN THE

COURT HOUSE, LEBANON, PA.,

Friday, February 18, 1898.

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THE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

By REV. F. J. F. SCHANTZ, D.D.,  
Myerstown, Pa.

THE HEBRON DIARY DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD,

By J. H. REDSECKER, PH.M.

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PRESS OF  
REPORT PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED,  
LEBANON, PA.





# THE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY REV. F. J. F. SCHANTZ, D.D.

Mr. President and Members of the Lebanon County Historical Society:

Friday, January 14th, 1898, will be long remembered by the gentlemen who assembled on the afternoon of that day in the Court House of Lebanon county. No bell had rung. No judges occupied the bench. No attorneys assembled within the bar. No jurymen were present to be called, to be challenged or accepted. No plaintiffs and defendants appeared with anxious faces. No witnesses feared the trying ordeal of an examination and cross-examinations. No one had come to exercise the right of the American citizen to sit in judgment on the court. On that afternoon no case was tried and thus no testimony was heard—there were no rulings by the court—no pleas by attorneys—no charge to the jury—no verdict rendered—no fines imposed—no committals to jail or penitentiaries—no sentence to die on the gallows—no mileage and pay for jurymen and witnesses—no fees for attorneys, and, above all, no costs for the county.

The meeting of that afternoon differed from all the meetings held in the Court House from the time of its erection, many years ago. Besides sessions of the court in these many years, other meetings were held in the past within these walls. The various political parties have often met here—to show the duty of the citizen in municipal, county, state and national affairs. Prominent candidates for state and national offices, men distinguished for their services in the commonwealth, and in the republic,—men, who by their services in the time of war, won the admiration of all good citizens,—were heard here in past years. For many years, the great county institutes in the interest of education have been held here. Within these walls, great lectures, delivered by great men, have been heard; and musicians of highest rank have often delighted large audiences. Possibly some of the gentlemen present today, may remember that at a great Union meeting, held here in the time of the late war, the most impressive address was delivered by a Pennsylvania

German parson, who was applauded as no man had been applauded before.

The meeting on January 14th will ever be remembered as the meeting at which the organization of the Lebanon County Historical Society was effected. The committee appointed at the temporary organization presented a well-prepared constitution, which was unanimously adopted. The committee on organization reported the names of gentlemen, whose ancestors resided in Lebanon county for many years, to fill the various offices, and all were unanimously elected and entered at once upon their respective offices. An executive committee was appointed. Many members paid the membership fee and first annual fee. The gentlemen who took part in the organization of the society were delighted with the attendance, with the harmonious proceedings, and the deep interest shown in the organization of the society.

Since the meeting on Friday, January 14th, the executive committee has held several meetings, at one of which it arranged the order for the meeting on this day. My appearance before you today reminds me of an experience as a member of the board of trustees of a college. Many years ago, I offered, at a meeting of the board, a resolution recommending that in future the scholastic year of the institution be opened with an address before the faculty, the students and friends of the institution. The resolution was adopted, and when the time for the appointment of a speaker had come, I received the invitation to deliver the first address. I felt a deep interest in the formation of this society, and you saw fit to elect me a member of the executive committee. I favored the appointment of speakers for this first regular bi-monthly meeting of the society. The executive committee kindly spared other gentlemen, who are to be given ample time for the preparation of extended papers,—and kindly requested me to deliver an address at this meeting.

Gentlemen, I regard this day as one of the happiest days of my residence of more than thirty years in the beautiful Lebanon

Valley—not simply in view of the honor bestowed upon me to deliver an address; but in view of the great privilege of being able to address you as the Lebanon County Historical Society, a privilege which no one has heretofore enjoyed.

Lebanon county, as is well known, was constituted within this century: Dauphin county long included the district now embraced in Lebanon county. Lancaster county formerly included Dauphin and Lebanon counties. Lancaster county and Dauphin county differed from Lebanon county for many years in an important matter. Lancaster and Dauphin have for many years their respective county historical societies. We have reason to rejoice that Lebanon has now become like Lancaster and Dauphin counties.

What more suitable subject could have been assigned to me for this first bi-monthly meeting of our society—than the one announced as the subject of my address:

#### THE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

No one can complain that at the close of the nineteenth century, there is a dearth of societies. For a long time, the three institutions of divine appointment—the family, the state, and the church,—have met the wants of men. We live in an age in which it would be difficult to name all the societies and associations in which people have membership.

We have at this day, the gentlemen's club and the women's club, the boys' club and the girls' club; we might ask, What is wrong with the ties of home,—the loving relation of husband and wife, of parents and children,—that make these necessary?

In educational work, we find the rural district school with its societies as well as the great university with its many associations. No educational institution seems to be able to secure patronage of a sufficient quantity, if its catalogue does not announce the fact that its students will be able to have their wishes gratified by the advantages afforded by a multitude of associations.

In the church itself, we have today such a great number of societies, that the fear has been expressed that the time may come when men will ask, Of what further use is the church with its divine appointment, to meet the highest wants of men?

In matters of the state, we have a great number of associations, each one claiming that it is absolutely needed to secure the civil interests of our vast population.

In business, we meet with many associations. Think of the many unions that

have been formed by capitalists to secure and advance the money interests of the rich, and think of the many brotherhoods to secure the rights of the laboring man. These combinations show how much men prize the associations of those who have similar interests. Thus we have also men associated in agricultural and horticultural societies, in millers, in miners and manufacturers associations. We meet with medical societies, pharmaceutical associations, dental unions, editorial associations, printers combinations, ministers union, and undertakers union. Who can name all the associations we have today for mutual aid in the time of sickness, and relief when death visits the home? Who has forgotten the bright promises that were made by agents of (insurance) companies of various names, and the sad and painful disappointments of many who have not been profited by such association with others?

Whilst all of these societies or associations have to do with the present and future interests of men, the historical society differs from all of these by having to do principally with the past of men.

Historical societies are not new in America. New England is proud of its Puritan Society. New York and New Jersey take pride in the Holland Society. The Hibernian Society preserves the history of those who came from the Emerald Isle. The Scotch-Irish Society preserves the memory of illustrious ancestors. The German Society of New York and the German Society of Philadelphia have already celebrated their centennials. The Pennsylvania Historical Society has rendered most important service in preserving the history of Pennsylvania and the Union. The Pennsylvania German Society, organized only seven years ago, has awakened among Pennsylvania Germans a wonderful interest in the history of their ancestors. New England has learned more of Pennsylvania Germans in these seven years than ever before, and it is to be commended for acknowledging its former ignorance of a people who had also a prominent part in making the United States what they are. Not long ago, students of an eastern college were requested to prepare papers in which the young men were to give what they knew of their homes and the people of their respective homes. One young man made good use of Benjamin Trexler's "Sketches of the Lehigh Valley." The professor before whom the young student read his paper, was astonished, and promptly asked the young man where he



had secured the matter given in his paper. The student acknowledged his use of the contents of the "Sketches of the Lehigh Valley," a German volume, which contains much valuable historical information concerning the Pennsylvania Germans and other white settlers. What will New England professors say when they once have read all the annuals of the Pennsylvania German Society?

On Friday, February 4th, whilst on my way to Macungie, to go thence to Upper Milford township in my native county (Lehigh), to deliver a lecture in the Penn'a-German dialect, I had the pleasure of meeting Rev. Dr. Thomas C. Porter, of Lafayette College, who informed me that on the previous evening (February 3d) he had the pleasure of witnessing at a private residence in Chambersburg, the organization of the Kittatinny Scotch-Irish Historical Society, by about 20 gentlemen who had assembled for the purpose. This shows that others also are appreciating the importance of district historical societies. And I have no doubt that in the future the Historical Society of Lebanon County will take pleasure in greeting the Kittatinny Scotch-Irish Society and bid it God-speed in a good work.

Our glorious republic is a grand union of states. It consists of many parts. We speak of commonwealths, of counties, of townships, and of districts. The character of the union is determined by the character of the divisions and sub-divisions. Hence the propriety of the organization of other than national and state, yea, even of county societies, to preserve the history of the minor parts of the great republic.

And what is the great purpose of the society recently organized by us? It is to preserve the history of Lebanon county, a part of the great commonwealth of Pennsylvania—the Keystone state of the great republic. The territory covered by this county is not large compared with that of Berks and Lancaster or even Schuylkill county. Let us not forget that as some of the smaller states of the great republic have a more interesting and important history than some of vast domain, so some of the smaller counties of the commonwealth have a history of which counties of much larger extent of territory might be proud.

And what will be the work of the Lebanon County Historical Society?

1. We trust that some one will soon be charged with the preparation of a paper, in which there will be an interesting description of the territory covered by this

county, to show what it was before white men settled here. It had then the same parts of mother earth as at present, with mountains and valleys, with extensive forests and vast uncultivated plains, its many streams of water, the beast of the forest, the winged fowl, and the abundance of fish in the streams. It was then the region in which the Indian loved to roam, and also to abide for seasons of varied length.

2. We doubt not that we will also be favored with a paper on the settlements of white people. The earliest settlements were made near the beginning of the last century. We will hear of the immigrants who came from Schoharie in New York, by the way of the north branch of the Susquehanna, and the Susquehanna to the mouth of the Swatara, thence along the Swatara, and eastward into the Tulpehocken region. We will also hear of the many who came subsequently by the way of the port in Philadelphia.

3. Then, again, we will learn from another, of the first habitations of the early settlers,—their erection of humble houses and plain barns, of the preparation of the soil and the first sowing of seed in the hope of a future harvest,—and the erection of the first mills will not be forgotten.

4. Still another will tell us of the erection of school-houses and churches, and the organization of Christian congregations by those who could not forget the blessings of the church and school in the Fatherland.

5. We will further learn of the opening of public roads by the government, and the opening of private roads by the settlers,—to be followed in turn by the turnpike, the canal and the railroad.

6. Some one will tell us of the early artisan, and the results of his labors. The services rendered by the tailor, the shoemaker, the carpenter, the tinker, the blacksmith, the clockmaker, the wagonmaker, the millwright, and also by the gunsmith, will be fully presented.

7. An important paper will present the civil affairs in the days of the colony, and subsequently in the time of the commonwealth.

8. Some one will tell us of the discovery and subsequent mining of iron ore,—the erection of the first furnaces and the wonderful development of the iron interests. We shall also hear of prospecting for gold and silver in various parts of the county.

9. In due time we will have extended papers on the school house and school of the fathers, the adoption of the common

school system, the establishment of academies, the opening of high schools and colleges, and the Pennsylvania Chautauqua, within the limits of the county.

10. Many papers will be required to present properly the history of each Christian congregation, with an account of its buildings, its records, its pastors and people.

11. Many papers will be required to present the history of the services rendered by the early and later inhabitants of the county in the French and Indian War, in the years of the great Revolution, in the War of 1812-15, in the war with Mexico, and in the late Civil War.

12. Valuable contributions will be made to the society by the preparation and presentation of the history of each town and village.

13. Will not the formation of Lebanon County, whose inhabitants had for many years to go to Harrisburg and still earlier for a long time to Lancaster to secure justice as well as to be tried for offences, be an interesting article?

14. The history of families cannot fail to prove of interest to many who know now but little of their ancestors.

15. We trust that some will be charged with the preparation of a paper on Music in Lebanon County. He will not forget to tell us of the cantor of the old congregations, the singing-school of former days, the use of the violin and other instruments at church services, before pipe-organs and later reed organs were used. What a difference between the renderings of the primitive choir and the choral society of the present day.

16. Some of us will be surprised to learn of the Cherry Fairs held in the county many years ago, which occasioned severe reproof from faithful ministers at the next church service; of the drill days and great battalions, when the State militia and volunteer companies were not the only attraction, when hucksters erected their booths along the public road, and had great sales, when landlords had ample preparations for those who were hungry and thirsty, when the fiddler was busy from morning till late at night in serving those who wished to dance, and when men who had accounts to settle with others engaged in bloody contests. We may also in due time learn of the old kind of political meetings held in various parts of the county, and learn how men in former days observed the Fourth of July.

17. In due time we may also have bio-

graphical sketches of ministers, from the days of John Caspar Stoeber, Conrad Templeman and the first ministers of the Moravian and other churches, down to the present day; of teachers in charge of the old Gemeinde-Schule and of those who subsequently had charge of the schools that were successively established; of physicians distinguished for their ability and success in ministering to the wants of suffering fellowmen; of judges and other legal gentlemen of high rank and eminent services in the court of justice; of men who faithfully served their generation in the State and National government; of men who served their country faithfully in the time of war; of men and women, known for industry and honesty and fair dealing, in the different vocations of life; of men who by the establishment of great industries became benefactors to many who found an opportunity to earn their daily bread, and of men and women too, noted for their works of mercy.

18. An interesting paper would be one on the languages spoken by the early settlers. The English landlord no doubt found it difficult to converse with the German who spoke high German and the immigrant who continued to use the dialect of the province from which he came. No doubt the Scotch-Irish and the German and Swiss settlers had their difficulties in conversing with each other. The introduction of schools in which English was and is still taught has been the means of bringing the citizens of the county to a closer union. Much remains, however, to be done on this line.

19. But the work of the County Historical Society will not end with securing the preparation and presentation of historical papers on topics such as have been indicated and such as may be thought of by others.

An opportunity will be given from time to time for the display and we trust also for presentation to the Society of old papers, such as patents, warrants and deeds, of an earlier day, passports of ancestors, contracts with redemptioners, old books brought from the Fatherland, old furniture, old chests, old chairs and benches, old bedsteads, old tables, ten plate stoves, old queensware, old knives, forks and spoons, old clocks, the old spinning-wheel, the flint punk and steel, a sun glass, the old lard lamps, implements used on the farm, tools used in the workshop, old fire arms and swords; also Indian relics of various kinds, garments worn by ancestors,

when there were no fashion-plates. What an interesting presentation would the old clerical robe, worn in Bindnagle's church, but not within the memory of a living man, be. To these might be added all the books and pamphlets published in this county. Files of newspapers would also be very acceptable and profitable. Another valuable addition would be the list of patents secured by inventors residing in Lebanon County, and if possible specimens of the articles patented.

But why should I continue to speak longer of the future work of the County Historical Society? We ought to enter upon the work with proper zeal. The work cannot be completed in a year or many years—it is a work that is to be continued by future generations. Every opportunity should, however, be embraced to secure valuable information and interesting contributions from those who link us with past generations. If we procrastinate, we may wait until those who can now render valuable services will have departed this life and then we will have occasion to regret our unfortunate delays.

The present members of the Society and all who may shortly become members of the same—and we trust that many ladies as well as gentlemen will become members of the organization—will have to do with the history of past generations, and what will be the profit of such work? We trust that all will be led to thank God for the blessings which we now enjoy and that all of us may be impressed by the thought that what we now enjoy, by the favor of God, is the result of the heroic labors of a noble ancestry, of whom no one has reason to be ashamed.

I shall never forget my visit, in the spring of 1866, to the old Trappe church in Montgomery County, erected in 1743. Snow still covered the ground. I first visited the grave of the patriarch Muhlenberg and wiped the snow from his tombstone; there lie also the remains of other members of his family, and also those of Francis R. Shuuk, a former Governor of Pennsylvania. After leaving the burial ground I later entered the church twice. I was alone the second time and yet I did not regret that I was alone in the old church building. I looked at the walls of the building, the quaint doors and windows in the same, I looked at the high pulpit, and plain altar, at the plain seats on floor and in galleries. I noticed

the organ in the organ loft, with some of the pipes wanting. Whilst I looked at what was to be seen in the old sanctuary I thought of the services conducted in that building, by Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, and their successors. I thought of people worshipping in that house of God, in a former century. I thought of the meetings of Synod held there at a very early day. I thought of the blessings extended to ancestors, including some of my own relatives I thought of the labors, services and influence that belonged to the history of that old church, and I could not refrain from kneeling before that ancient altar and to thank God for His favors to noble fathers, for their work and blessed influences upon others, and to pray that God's blessing might rest upon all of the day on which I prayed and on future generations. You may wonder how I happened to be at the Trappe at that time, on such unpleasant days. I was at that time an agent of a Theological Seminary of the Lutheran Church, which regards Muhlenberg as its patriarch.

Let no honest man tell me that he can examine the records and results of the labors of godly men of former days, who had so much to do with the making of Pennsylvania, and yet remain unmoved and receive no inspiration for a better life and more faithful service.

Before closing, I would ask you to think of the Lebanon County Historical Society celebrating its semi-centennial in the year 1948, and still later the centennial. Will not our lives, our labors, our good deeds or evil deeds, be then a part of the history of Lebanon county. Let every member of the Society consider it the height of his ambition, duty and privilege so to live and act by the help of the grace of God, that his descendants will have no cause to blush when his history shall be written or read by them.

How important for all of us to remember the exhortation of the great apostle:

"Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue or if there be any praise, think on these things.

"Those things, which ye both learned, and received, and heard and seen in me, do: and the God of peace shall be with you."

# THE HEBRON DIARY DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

BY J. H. REDSECKER, PH.M.

About 12 or 15 years before George Steitz laid out the town of Lebanon, the Moravian brethren, moving westward from Nazareth and Bethlehem, had settled in Hebron, a mile east of what subsequently became the town of Lebanon. Here they had organized a church, and about the year 1750 erected a substantial stone house of worship, which is still standing, but alas! is now used as a stable. The ministers of the church as was, and still is, their custom, kept a complete diary of daily events, particularly those relating to their church. This diary is now in the possession of the Moravian congregation in Lebanon, and a transcript of it during the Revolutionary period being in my possession, I have the pleasure of presenting some data gathered from it, which I hope will be of interest to the members of our Historical Society. It is a matter of regret that I am unable, in a paper of such length as this must necessarily be, to give you a complete transcript of the diary, as it is replete with interesting data during the memorable struggle of the Colonies in the War of Independence. It gives us not only an insight into the loyalty and patriotism of the people of our town and county, but of their hopes and fears, their struggles and triumphs, and brief pen-pictures of those who played their part in the great drama then enacted. We have also a view of the optimism and pessimism of the pastor, to whom we are indebted for this interesting bit of history.

We must remember that at the time our record begins, Lebanon was a town not more than probably 15 years old, with not over 200 houses, and extending eastward hardly as far as Seventh street, and a population scarcely exceeding one thousand. Although living 100 miles inland from Philadelphia, with no means of communication other than the occasional messenger or traveler, the citizens were not unmindful of the events which were transpiring in the Colonies and which ultimately led up to the War of the Revolution. As early as June 25, 1774, a meeting of the inhabitants

of Lebanon and the adjoining townships was held at the house of Captain Greenawalt, in Lebanon, "to take into serious consideration the state of public affairs." Major John Philip DeHaas, afterward a General, presided, and John Light acted as secretary. It was resolved:

1st. That the late act of the British Parliament, by which the port of Boston is shut up, is an act oppressive to the people of that city, and subversive of the rights of the inhabitants of America.

2d. That while we profess to be loyal subjects of Great Britain, we shall not submit to unjust and iniquitous laws, as we are not slaves, but freemen.

3d. That we are in favor of a Congress of Deputies, who will act in behalf of the people for obtaining a redress of their grievances.

4th. That we will act with the inhabitants of other portions of our country in such measures as will preserve to us our rights and our liberties.

5th. That our countrymen of the city of Boston have our sincerest sympathy, that their cause is the common cause of America.

6th. That Messrs. Philip Greenawalt, Thomas Clark, Michael Ley, Killian Long, and Curtis Grubb be a committee to collect contributions for our suffering brethren.

It will thus be seen that at the time our diary opens, the people were watching and preparing for the expected event.

Living, as we do, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, when we have griddled the earth with electric wires, and speak face to face, as it were, though hundreds of miles distant, with ocean greyhounds and fast-moving railroad trains, and when we expect the world's news of today laid before us in tomorrow's papers, when, I say, we have all these inventions of modern civilization affording means of intercommunication between the peoples of the earth, it is still a matter of astonishment to learn how quickly the news was transmitted one hundred and twenty-five years ago, without all these modern means.

The smoke of the battle of Lexington and Concord had scarcely cleared away, before its echoes were heard throughout the Colonies. It was not long in reaching the little town of Lebanon, one hundred miles inland from Philadelphia. Twenty-one days after this initial battle of the war, we find the news had not only reached Lebanon, but that two companies had been organized and were ready to march. Let us quote from the diary in proof of this: "Wednesday, May 10th, 1775. Great alarm in town. All men from 15 to 50 years, are expected to register themselves. Two companies are ready. The brethren ask for advice, and that is hard to give." They were worthy sires of a worthy song, who in 1861 as promptly responded to the call of their country.

Four days later, Sunday, May 14, we find this entry: "From Wednesday of last week up to the end of the week, our whole neighborhood has presented a warlike appearance; especially was there great excitement in town, so that there is no other course left for our brethren, they were obliged to register themselves. However, they all went to DeHaas, who has no commission, but has by himself organized a company. Thus finally they obtain quiet."

When we remember the meeting of June 25, 1774, it is not so much a matter of surprise to find the people of Lebanon with two organized companies ready to march, three weeks after the first engagement of the war. John Philip DeHaas was not a novice in soldiering. He had seen service in the numerous campaigns against the Indians, and had commanded a company in one of the frontier forts along the Blue Mountains. He had attained the rank of Major and was with Colonel Boquet in his campaign against the Indians in 1764, when he compelled them to sue for peace, and which resulted in the delivering up of many captives taken during their numerous raids upon the settlements.

But to return to the diary. Little else is recorded for 1775, except that "through the continual favor of our worthy magistrates we have remained, not only undisturbed as it appeared would not be the case, in these hazardous and unsettled times; but many times in the open malice of our enemies, they granted us their gracious protection, so that our quiet haven has been guarded for us." The year 1776 was one of unusual mental agitation for the peaceful and peace-loving pastor of the Hebron congregation. Though not disloyal, for he records with evident satisfac-

tion the victories of the Continental arms, he was perhaps not as enthusiastically patriotic as we may think he should have been. This may have been due to the fact that he was probably a non-combatant. However, he records with some degree of satisfaction, that on Sunday, March 3d, "Mr. DeHaas came before preaching service and bade Brother Bader an affectionate farewell. In pursuance of his call, he will leave next Wednesday for Philadelphia, and from there, as Colonel of the First Battalion, he will travel to Quebec." On the following Thursday, March 7th, we are informed, "early this morning Mr. DeHaas, with a strong escort, passed here on his journey. He gave another look at the house, saw Brother and Sister Bader, and once more they sent each other a cordial greeting."

In the meantime, the war spirit stirred the hearts of the people, and soldiers gathered in and about Lebanon, and continued drilling, preparatory to going to the front. Friday, June 25th, Dr. Oldenbrug, who afterwards figures quite extensively as Captain Oldenbrug in connection with the Hessian prisoners, "came and asked for several benches for the officers, in order that they could sit in Brother Baltho Orth's spring house. He was allowed to take four from the school room. A whole battalion will come together tomorrow across the water in Brother Baltho's field (just opposite the Gemeinhaus) and drill."

On Sunday, July 7th, we are told "there is again great alarm in town concerning the war," and the next day it is recorded that "Brother Sturges came in great perplexity with the news that every one must leave at once, according to the command of Congress, through an express messenger." And here we get an idea of how the news was communicated. By couriers, after the manner of Paul Revere.

The battalion's drilling on Sunday, so near the church, evidently disturbed the worship of the Hebron congregation, for we find this entry on Sunday, July 14, "The battalion received positive orders not to march out until after the public divine worship of the brethren, who were not to be disturbed, was ended."

That troops were being sent to the front from other places, or were ordered to rendezvous in Lebanon, is quite evident from an entry in the diary of Sunday, July 21, which says, "Again a battalion marched by." In the evening, two soldiers came and asked for something to eat. When they learned it was a meeting house, they

started, but "Sister Bader made up something for them, and they were friendly and thankful." Toward the end of this month, a number of companies were gathered in Lebanon, for on the 28th, he says, "towards evening again a company belonging to another battalion marched upon the field, being opposite us," and a few days later, "two companies from the Swatara marched here."

The time came when the men, who had been drilling in "Brother Baltho Orth's field," were to leave for the seat of war. Among them, were members of the Moravian congregation. We have numerous records of calls by the brethren to bid their pastor an affectionate farewell, for who could know whether they should ever return.

With the stalwart men at the front, and the Indians and Tories in the rear, there is reason for the record on August 4, when Pastor Bader says, "Great alarm and uneasiness because of the Tories and Indians, who are threatening an invasion upon the land from the mountains." The alarm, however, proved to be groundless, for a few days later all the soldiers left. He says, under date of August 8th, "toward evening the companies, which are (as it is believed) the last from this place, also marched by."

On Thursday, August 15th, we come upon a record which, though not entered in a spirit of complaint, has nevertheless a pathos, which even at this distance of time, is affecting. "The song service is held in the house, because so many of the brethren are in the army."

The troops marched by way of Reading, Bethlehem and Easton to New York, for on the 28th of August, eighteen days after leaving home, the good pastor received a letter (how long it was on the way we cannot tell) from Brother Sturges to read to his wife, in which he conveyed the intelligence that "he and Brother Guenther received the favor of being permitted to go to the Lord's Supper in Bethlehem, and that his battalion conducted itself there in a creditable manner."

The stern realities of war were now felt in our Lebanon community, for battles were being fought and many of her sons were at the front. With what anxiety news must have been awaited, and every arriving stranger closely questioned. No wonder, then, that we are told by the faithful chronicler, on Sunday, September 1, "again there is great commotion in town

because of a battle which is said to have taken place near Trentown (Trenton)."

This was a false rumor, for which the pastor was not to blame. The battle of Trenton did not take place until the 26th of December, when General Washington captured 1,000 Hessian prisoners, who afterward played such an important part in Brother Bader's records.

On the 2d of September, the day following that on which it was rumored there had been a battle at Trenton, he tells us "the dreadful news came that a battle should have occurred near New York, and that our people were present," and then, as if hoping against hope, and with an optimism not common to Brother Bader, he concludes the entry, "While, however, so many untruths have been spread for a long time, we remain quiet." The next day, several sisters came with letters, which they had received from their husbands, and "they report being quite well and hope to return soon; there was, however, continual firing and fighting on Long Island, about three miles from New York." The battle of Long Island which took place a week previous.

From September 6th to the 18th, we find many of the men home again, by reason of discharge and sickness, and the people busy sending horses and wagons to meet the sick and bring them home. But scarcely were they home, before we have another alarm, "that all who had been in the army should go again."

On Sunday, December 1st, the villagers had their first sight of prisoners of war. Whence they came, we are not told, the record simply saying, "One thousand prisoners, under a strong escort of troops, marched by the Gemein-haus, on to Reading, at 10 o'clock. They are to be taken to Philadelphia. There were also many Tories present with their wives and children, and many wagons." Thus closes the record for 1776.

The year 1777 opened auspiciously for the Americans. Brother Bader, who was accustomed to sing in a minor key, for the once seems to have struck a higher note. On January 1, 1777, he jubilantly records a victory. But we will let him tell it in his own way. "Every one in town is rejoicing over a victory which the Provincials are said to have gained." How history repeated itself almost a century later, is well known to those who lived through the exciting and perilous days from 1861 to 1865. The victory which Brother Bader

records, is evidently Washington's at Trenton, on December 26. 1776.

On the 9th of February, we have the simple announcement, "DeHaas returns."

That the Germans and the Irish could not fraternize as well a century ago as they do now, is evidenced by an entry of March the 19th, for we find this, to us, amusing record: "In the town (Lebanon) itself there were miserable and dangerous quarrels between the town people and the soldiers, because of the Irish patron, Patrick, whose memory the latter were celebrating." There must have been a regular Donnybrook Fair time of it.

During the months of April, May and June, we have records of the registry of the men for service, the requirement of all to take the oath of allegiance, and the drafting of men for service. On Sunday, June 29, Brother Bader (as he always calls himself in the diary) "preached on the subject, and said that no true brother could take the oath." The people, we are told, were opposed to it, and two persons lost their lives in Donegal because they refused to be sworn. We are further told that 19 "who had taken the oath attempted to plunder the family of an unsworn person in Swatara. While doing so, they were set upon by sixty who had not taken the oath, and beaten almost to death. The property was saved, and one person who, the previous week had shot a man, was in turn shot with his own rifle."

Rumors of Indian raids were again reported, together with another that "Howe was in Maryland, not far from Yorktown (York) on the Susquehanna;" and that the prisoners from Lancaster and Reading were to be brought to Lebanon, houses already having been ordered and prepared for them.

On August 27th, three hundred and forty Hessian prisoners arrived in Lebanon, in charge of Colonel Curtis Grubb. He sent two soldiers to the pastor to inform him that the Gemein-haus was to be occupied by them. "To this, Brother Bader objected, saying it was not a public house, and he would allow no one in his dwelling." In the evening he had the assurance of Adam Orth, one of his members, and John Thome, who figured quite prominently in Colonial times as a justice of the peace, surveyor and scrivener, that he would remain in undisturbed possession of the building. Upon what authority they gave him this assurance we cannot learn, for Brother Bader could get no satisfactory reply from Colonel Grubb, to whom he had

written. After discussing the matter with the brethren, he dispatched a committee to see the commander, with instructions "to put forth their utmost efforts to prevent the occupancy of the building," and "to declare that if it happened, it would be against all the laws, especially against the laws of our land, against our wishes and by force. They went, fought all day, and in order to neglect nothing, made two propositions: That they would either yield up the two houses (dwellings?) in place of it, or rent a large house in town, in which some could be put, and pay for it, but it was all of no avail, and they came back at night."

Brother Bader now concluded to retire to Lititz, and lock up the house; but at a later conference, and upon "more careful reflection, he gave up the plan of moving away entirely, and resolved to send an express to Lititz."

After the several propositions of the pastor and his members, to procure quarters elsewhere, it does seem, looking back calmly and judicially, an abuse of authority for Colonel Grubb to take the church as quarters for the prisoners. He was, perhaps, not altogether free from prejudice, and may have been influenced by not the best of motives. Let us see what Brother Bader says: "On Friday, August 29, 400 prisoners arrived. Brother Bader had the opportunity of emphatically presenting his declaration to Colonel Grubb. But he has been prejudiced by the head of the Reformed Church and carried out his intention. Brother Bader has entire possession of the four lower rooms, but 200 were put into the church (saal) and in the side rooms (cabinetter); the others had to go to town, and then," concludes the narrative with evident satisfaction to the pastor, "the Reformed had to give up their church."

For the next year, almost, the good dominie's soul was vexed by the Hessians quartered in the church. They took the church violins and began playing and dancing in the church and out of it, destroyed property, burnt the fences, and acted, as the record says, "shamefully, as they certainly would not dared to have done in Hesse at the parsonage."

During the remainder of the year, there is one continuous wail upon the part of the pastor because of the occupancy of the building. Colonel Marsteller, who succeeded Colonel Grubb in command, made promises of relief, but nothing was done. Messengers were sent to the Council of

Safety, in Lancaster, and Colonel Greenawalt interposed his good offices, but still the Hessians remained quartered in the house.

On Wednesday, October 29, we are told, "about 10 o'clock, David Krause, the barracks master, came and gave them (the Hessians) notice to be ready to leave in half an hour, and to go to the Lutheran church in town. Who was more joyful than Brother and Sister Bader, but who was more dismayed than the Hessians, and particularly the officers, who had settled to rest, were comfortable, and certainly expected to pass the winter here." They attributed their removal to Brother Bader, but were assured to the contrary. "Captain Oldenbrug came with the militia and took them away. Several wept much. In short, it was not all right with them. We now see the shocking destruction that they produced within and without the house, so that it looks exactly like a stable, and smells horribly, inasmuch that it is a grief." No sooner were the Hessians gone, than they were confronted with a new trouble, for we find this entry in the diary under date of Thursday, October 30, "A visit from Dav. Buehler and Sturgis. They brought us a piece of news which would embitter our joy; that it was generally reported that the house was to be occupied by the sick and wounded. O God, look upon it from heaven and have mercy upon us," and he continues, "Tomorrow it is nine weeks that neither the congregation nor their children have had a service by themselves, so long were the Hessians here, and if the wounded come, the congregation would be scattered and every one go to his own, since in such a state Brother and Sister Bader could not stay on account of the lice and other uncleannesses, as every one knows." A conference of the brethren was called and action was taken to prevent the further occupancy of the house. But the wounded were not to occupy it, for on Monday, November 17, "early, at 9 o'clock, two Hessian women, with their baggage on their backs, came with the news that the Hessians were to return again to our house. We were greatly terrified, and Brother Bader was unwilling to let them in; but as it was very cold, he allowed them to warm themselves. Within an hour after, the house was again taken possession of." The reason for their removal from the Lutheran church is doubtless due to the fact, which we gather from a note in the diary, that the "Lutheran church in town is to be used as a powder magazine."

Again messengers were sent to Lancaster, but word came that the Hessians were to remain through the winter, and Brother Bader then learned that Ad. Orth ("whom Brother Bader did not entirely trust") "is the chief cause of all our and the congregation's troubles." We are told that "a Hessian gunsmith has taught Brother and Sister Bader's Justine to knit in a peculiar and unfamiliar way. The Hessians are drinking today (December 1) and make a fearful noise. Several, however, are deeply impressed; among them one especially who is already called a Herrnhuter by his comrades."

The anxiety, the conduct of the Hessians, the waiting for reports from Lancaster, and the worry, made Brother Bader sick. Colonel Grubb, upon whom he looked as an enemy, decided to remove the Hessians and use the house for casting bullets, "or, as they say, to put in the powder that is stored in the Lutheran church, because the people in town don't want it."

From the diary, we infer that many of the Hessians were put to work among the people, for on December 8 we are told "early this morning twenty men were sent out to call here all the Hessians who were at work, and then to hold themselves in readiness to march away. The house should be used for something else. The Hessians were quite distracted," at which we do not wonder, since they were having quite a good time at Hebron.

Colonel Marsteller, it seems, was playing fast and loose with Brother Bader. He had promised his influence for the removal of the prisoners, promised to visit Brother Bader and discuss the question, and yet excused himself; so that on December 10 we find this entry: "Marsteller did not come. But from his reply, Brother Bader could conclude that he had done, or would do nothing in the matter, and was treating us in a polite but hypocritical manner."

On Tuesday, December 16, Brother Bader had a visit from two distinguished officers of the army, General DeHaas and Dr. Kennedy, "Hospital Doctor of the Army," who informed him that the Hessians would be removed, but the buildings would be used as a hospital for the sick and wounded, and that the pastor and his wife should leave. He protested against it, but his protestation was unavailing. They examined the house and found it badly damaged. "The doctor," continues the narrative, "read the names of the places where the sick from Easton, Bethlehem, etc.,



were to be placed. As he did not read Hebron, Brother Bader immediately said to him that our little town did not occur on the list. He maintained that it did, but could not find it. Brother Bader spoke particularly and forcibly with Dellaas, who promised to do what he could. It seemed to vex the doctor that Brother Bader acted in such a manner. Brother Bader had Koehler, who heard every thing, present the matter to the brethren in town for consideration and to offer suggestions. That was a new fright."

Brother Bader seems to have lost confidence in the officers of the army, and to believe every idle rumor concerning them. On Friday, December 19, three days after the visit of General DeHaas and Dr. Kennedy, he says: "As we heard today, DeHaas is behind the whole matter, and wants to force us to leave the house. . . . Phil. Stoehr visited us and also stated that the matter was decided. Brother Bader commissioned him to gather together all the brethren in town and take measures to-morrow to send two of their number to Lancaster, and present a complaint to the Assembly, and beg for redress, since it now comes from DeHaas; otherwise it would have been done before this for the sake of the Gemein-haus, the woods, garden, fence, cemetery, and for the sake of the congregation. He wants to occupy the other houses also. Sister Bader afterward went to Sister Kucher, who embraced her warmly, with tears, and related that she had given DeHaas a terrible lecture." Messengers went to DeHaas from the congregation, and Baltho Orth, Jr., related "how he and Adam had been to see DeHaas and were received with all friendliness, he telling them that the occupancy of the house had not yet been decided upon, and expressing astonishment that the pastor had spoken so forcibly to him." Probably he was still more astonished at Sister Kucher's "terrible lecture." Whether it was the opposition of Brother Bader and the brethren, the visit of the committee to Lancaster, the "terrible lecture" by Sister Kucher, or the goodness of heart of General DeHaas, we know not, but, for the present at least, the house was not to be used, as we learn from an entry on December 27, which says, "Captain Oldenbrug visited Brother Bader and joyfully informed him that he had found places for all the sick (upwards of 420) in Schaefferstown, and so our house should be free. But oh! if only the Hessians were gone again." It would be in-

teresting to know where they were quartered in Schaefferstown.

Colonel Grubb comes in for considerable pious denunciation from the pastor. He tells us that "Grubb is, as we hear, like a madman against the poor brethren and us. He acts as absolute sovereign." On Sunday, December 28, he makes this entry, taking a pious fling at Colonel Grubb, "All the Hessians and many others in town are extremely angry with Grubb because he has seized and imprisoned an otherwise well-liked sergeant out of our house, who the day before yesterday went to church in town, and was afterward seen by him. He is still in prison."

"We carried all our small wood," he tells us, "old weather-boards, pailings from the cemetery and garden, and hop-poles, up to the store-room, because the Hessians steal and burn all that they can get, since they have no wood."

He closes the year's diary with the following:

Memorabilia, 1777. "The 29th day of August was the day on which the Miserere burst forth loudly, and up to the 29th day of October was often repeated, with many tears, for on the first day there came here upwards of 270 Hessian prisoners and took possession of the Gemein-haus, whereby poor Hebron was disturbed in her course."

The year 1778 opened with the same old troubles for Brother Bader, the Hessians, who were very much in evidence in the Gemein-haus. The sergeant, whom we are told in a previous note, Colonel Grubb had arrested and imprisoned for attending worship in town, was released and returned to his old quarters. Thereupon the guard gave expression to their joy by firing a volley and drinking deeply. It seems this was the only way in which they could express their gratification. But it was a sorrowful day for the good dominie. As he says, "the remainder of the day was spent, as the present circumstances would permit, in sorrowful solitude."

As a result of the imbibing, they had a big quarrel in the evening, or as Brother Bader expresses it, they "quarreled fearfully up to 9 o'clock in the brethren's hall. Sister Bader went out and informed them that we intend to complain about their shameful behavior. They quieted down, but afterward they began to roar so frightfully in the church that we thought it filled with senseless raving beasts, and that the house would be overturned, since Sister Bader's room began to crack all

over. Several officers called the guard, who should put them under arrest. Finally the under officers plucked up courage and gave a couple of the ring-leaders a sound beating; then we had quiet." It seems the Hessian women were largely responsible for the fight and uproar. According to the diary, there were 17 of them, and 14 of the number sold liquor to the prisoners, "and consequently the house had 14 saloons, and out of them 13 in the church. Is this to continue? He (Brother Bader) offered a plan, and if that did not succeed, he would soon have it stopped through Captain Oldenbrug."

On Sunday, January 4, Brother Bader received word that Captain Oldenbrug intended removing the Hessians and putting 120 cartridge makers in the building; but this was no more agreeable to the pastor, who did not want to give up his house, fearful that his congregation would be scattered. So on the following Monday, through Brother Koehler, he received word that the Captain had seized three houses in town, and would do his utmost to keep the house free. But no sooner had he received this cheering information, than he was compelled to record, as he does on Tuesday, January 6, that the "Hessians are returning in large numbers from their employers. He does not know where they are to be placed, for the house was then full." He says he will give up the garret, but not one room more. When we consider the size of the building, and remember that besides the pastor and his family, and some of the sisters of the congregation, there were 150 prisoners in the building, we may well wonder where they were to stay. They must have been packed like sardines. On the return of those who had been out at work, they began their usual orgies, and Sister Bader, who was sick with pneumonia, grew worse. Brother Bader informed them that if they did not stop the noise, "he would take back the side room he had given them, as he had not given it for such purpose. Thereupon they quieted down and began to scold each other violently because of it."

The day following the return of the Hessians, on Wednesday, January 7, Colonel Grubb and Captain Oldenbrug came early and when the Hessians saw them, they were alarmed, thinking that Pastor Bader had gone in the night and lodged complaint. They were confined more closely, and drinking was forbidden.

"Still Brother Bader related the occurrence to Captain Oldenbrug and asked him

to help maintain order in the house. He said he would come out plainly about the matter. There are now 150 men here, and they do not know how they shall lie down. A corporal came and requested that seven of his men might sleep on the sister's side, before the church door. It was flatly refused him, as we wish to keep that side entirely free. The garret was also asked for, and in like manner refused. We have learned to be prudent. They are, with very few exceptions, very rude and ungrateful."

On Friday, January 16, two gentlemen who had the oversight of the cartridge-makers, called on Brother Bader. One of them was "Mr. Watkins," who informed him that the Hessians were to leave, and the house would be occupied by the workmen; that 300 of them would be placed in the town. Brother Bader "in a polite way" remonstrated, and finally they informed him that if they could get another house, they would not occupy the church building.

The Hessians "were almost beside themselves" at this news, for while not having the most pleasant time with Brother Bader, they still seemed to have become quite attached to the Hebron community, so that the thought of leaving was not pleasant for them.

On Wednesday, January 21, 1778, they had a fearful time and must have made "Rome howl" with their conduct. Such is the record. "Today it was as if the abyss had opened and all the Furies and Mephistophiles and Zitzliputzli (we don't know what this means) had come among the Hessians. They made themselves outrageously drunk, and then the women began to fight; after them the men, who took sides with the women; finally the fight became general."

The guard was called, but after they left, the fight was resumed and continued into the night, and began again the next morning among the Hessian women, and continued at intervals for two days. No wonder that a peace-loving and God-fearing man like Brother Bader was almost driven to distraction. To add to the terror, the chimney of the house took fire, during the night, and, as he says, "had not the Eye and Watcher of Israel" cared for them, they might all have been burned, "for the house was filled with straw."

They have still no word as to the removal of the Hessians, or the further occupancy of the house for other purposes. Still, there are anxious conferences be-

tween pastor and people, and after service, on Sunday, January 25, "they have a strong report that the entire house is to be taken." He further records "that the Hessians are quiet," and adds, "they have no beer or brandy," leaving us to assume that then, as now, these twin evils, were the cause of many of the disturbances created among the prisoners.

The Hebron pastor makes no record from Sunday, January 25, to Sunday, February 1, when he briefly tells us the prisoners "acted as though they were crazy," presumably they had secured more beer and brandy. And then again he is silent for three days, during which time he was, as we learn, on a visit, for he tells us on Wednesday, February 4, that "Brother Bader returned from a visit at 3 o'clock and immediately received a visit from an Anspach hunter and sergeant. They related to him that Howe had dedicated the 7th chapter of Ezekiel to Washington, and the latter in turn the 4th chapter of Baruch to Howe.

At last, word came for the removal of the Hessians, but it was some days, nay, weeks, before they finally left. They protested; refused to leave the building, and began deserting. Notwithstanding that the guard was doubled, we are told, on March 1, that "seven ran away last night and five the night before. Today the guard was made stronger. It was noon before they marched. Many bade us a cordial farewell and wept much. Finally they departed, and then we saw the shocking desolation. The church was like a pig-sty." They were taken to Middletown.

After the departure of the Hessians, Major Watkins called to secure the house for his cartridge-makers, and to ascertain the damage to the buildings, which was fixed at £101, 6s, 10d,—much too little, we are told.

Watkins persisted in taking the building, and Brother Bader and the brethren objected. They wanted to know his authority, whether it was from Washington, Congress, or the Board of War. Instead of producing a letter from either, he presented one from Atlee, of Lancaster, who said, "you may have the house occupied by the Hessians." This was not sufficiently satisfactory. After discussing the question for several days, Major Watkins, on Wednesday, April 29, came with several wagon-loads of powder. Admission was refused and the doors locked. He was obliged to use force to enter, and breaking open the door, unloaded the powder in the church

and the brethren's hall. Thereupon a committee is despatched to York to the Board of War. Christian Kucher and Adam Orth were sent, returning Tuesday, May 5th, between 11 and 12 o'clock at night. Kucher reported that "he had experienced much trouble with the Board of War to obtain redress of our grievances, but had persisted and persevered with them in such manner, that they could resist no longer, and finally gave an order for Colonel Flowers, in Lancaster, that the latter should write to Watkins and require him to take the powder out of our house and to look for another place where also the other things could be stored. When he left (the Board of War) he said if Colonel Flowers made trouble for him, he would return." Colonel Flowers hesitated about giving such order, but when he learned that if he did not, the committee "would return again to the Board of War and have satisfaction, he at last wrote to Watkins how Christ. Kucher wanted it, and read the letter to him."

When we remember, as we are informed in the diary, that the Moravian brethren had procured three houses, with stables, and offered them for the storage of the powder and the use of the cartridge-makers, agreeing to pay the rent of the same, their action in wanting their church vacated, and their persistent efforts to accomplish the purpose, are not subject for criticism. And Major Watkins' continued occupancy of the building, in direct violation of the action of the Board of War, should have subjected him to a severe reprimand, if nothing worse. It looks like a persecution of the brethren. No wonder Brother Bader and his brethren protested, and that, notwithstanding the storage of tons of powder in the building, and the order of Watkins to the pastor to vacate, reminding him of the danger of remaining, Brother Bader bravely maintained possession of his rooms, and the brethren regularly assembled for worship.

But this brings us to the close of so much of the diary as is now in my possession, and we conclude with two extracts:

"Saturday, May 23, 1778. A Hessian (Corporal Stork), from Middletown, visited Brother Bader. They are very closely confined there. Yesterday and today the cartridge-makers brought bullets with a wheelbarrow and took back iron out of the house."

"Monday, May 25. In the afternoon, a battalion of militia drilled in B. Orth's field opposite the Gemein-haus. Afterward, Major Watkins came again. He wanted to

have the house, and said plainly that he intended to make a powder magazine out of the whole of it, and place in electrified iron bars. But Brother Bader steadfastly and repeatedly refused it. He receives one order after another from Colonel Flowers

to move everything out of the house, but he does not obey and writes another in reply, because of the instigation and support of the town people. So we are in extremely trying circumstances, and now in addition comes the taking of the oath."









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